

(SRI B. D. JATTI)

such representation inasmuch as members thereof are to be chosen with reference to the territorial constituencies in the States and the population of the States. Therefore an amendment of article 334 so as to extend the period specified therein will have to be in conformity with the proviso to article 368 which requires ratification by the Legislatures of not less than one-half of the States in the manner mentioned in the proviso. That is why I have moved this resolution. Really two amendments were moved,—one to article 333 and the other to article 334—in the Parliament. The amendment to article 333 was not accepted by the Parliament but the amendment to article 334 was accepted in the Parliament. As I have already explained, under sub-clause (d) of the proviso to article 368 it is necessary that any amendment of the Constitution has to be ratified by 50 per cent of the State Legislatures in the country and that is why this resolution has been moved.

The only change made in the original article 334 is that instead of "ten years" it should read "twenty years". That means that the reservation will be for ten years more. That is the only meaning of the amendment. Since the commencement of the Constitution reservation was given to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes people for a period of ten years, but during this period it has not been possible for these people to come up to the standard expected of them. That is why it has been thought necessary that the reservation should be extended by ten years more. I hope the House will pass this resolution unanimously.

Business of the House.

†Sri C. M. ARUMUGHAM (Kolar Gold Fields).—Sir, according to the programme chalked out by the Business Advisory Committee this resolution is to come up only on the 21st.

Sri B. D. JATTI.—The Business Advisory Committee allots only the time and not the date.

Sri C. M. ARUMUGHAM.—It had been put down for the 21st. Now all of a sudden the Government have taken us by surprise by taking it up today. This is a very important resolution.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER.—This is included in the order of business for the day and so we can discuss it today.

Sri C. M. ARUMUGHAM.—According to the Business Advisory Committee's report it is to be taken up only on the 21st. We will have to follow some programme.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER.—Today's order of business was distributed to members and this was included in it. Moreover, the Business Advisory Committee only allots time and does not fix dates.

Sri C. M. ARUMUGHAM.—If you see the Report of the Business Advisory Committee it is stated there that this will be taken up on the 21st. If any change is sought to be made by Government at least we want 24 hours notice.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER.—It was put down for today's agenda and so we shall discuss it.

Sri C. M. ARUMUGHAM.—Why do you want to change the programme chalked out by the Business Advisory Committee? You have made this change because you are powerful. We accept it because we have no power, but it must be borne in mind that the House also has power and authority.

†Sri M. RAMAPPA (Harihar).—It is true that the Business Advisory Committee has put down the dates also in its report. It is the duty of the Business Advisory Committee to allot only time and not to fix the dates, but rightly or wrongly the report of the Business Advisory Committee contains dates also. It would be proper for the Committee in future to omit the dates; otherwise we are likely to be misled to think that the date is specified in the report of the Committee. Anyway, I request the Chairman of the Business Advisory Committee not to give room for such doubts hereafter.

Sri C. M. ARUMUGHAM.—Therefore what I suggest is that we take up this resolution on the 21st.

†Sri V. S. PATIL (Belgaum).—My suggestion is that since the Business Advisory Committee has put this down for discussion on the 21st it should be taken up on the 21st only. This is a very important resolution on which members belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes want to speak. I hope the Leader of the House will please take this up on the 21st even though it is shown in the order of business for today. That will satisfy the House. We got the agenda for today only at about 10 or 11 in the morning and so if any member wanted to speak on the resolution it was impossible for him to prepare in such a short time on this important subject. Even though the Speaker has the power to prepare the agenda for the day, my submission is that that does not mean that the opposition should be gagged in this way. They want sufficient time and so I request the Leader of the House to please take up this subject on a subsequent day.

Sri B. D. JATTI.—There appears to be no opposition to this motion and I am sure Sri Arumugham will not oppose it. So why should we unnecessarily delay the ratification of this amendment of the Constitution?

4-30 P.M.

†Sri C. M. ARUMUGHAM.—Sir, in 1947 when the Constituent Assembly was constituted, there was a Committee called Advisory Committee, to report on the rights of the minorities of the States. That Committee, after going through the matter, said that there must be reservation for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for a period of ten years. There were also several conferences in India to consider whether that concession regarding reservation should be extended to Muslims Christians and other communities. So far as the Muslim community was concerned, they had reservations before independence for the last 50 to 60 years. The Christians also virtually enjoyed this privilege for 20 years.

But the Scheduled Castes got the reservation concession according to the Government of India Act, 1935. When the Constituent Assembly was constituted, they thought that it would not be proper to have such reservations in a democratic nation, and that there should not be any difference between citizen and citizen in a democratic State. Therefore, they thought it fit not to continue this. In 1947 a Committee was constituted under the Chairmanship of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and that Committee said that there should be reservation for a period of ten years.

Sir, in 1948-49, when this question came up before the Constituent Assembly, there was a heated debate on the issue. I submit, Sir, why there should be any such reservation for the Scheduled Castes? Is it that the Scheduled Castes are a minority community among Hindus? If their economic condition is the criterion for treating them as backward and extending the benefit of reservation to them, we all know there are people of other communities who are also backward. Not all the Brahmins are forward. Among them many are backward. Among the Muslims, among the Christians and several other communities, people are backward economically. Such being the case, where is the need for reservation for Scheduled Caste people alone? This is only treating one section of the people in one way and another section in another way. This is like saying, so long as the Scheduled Castes remain in the Hindu religion, they should remain as Scheduled Castes and the moment they join the Christianity or Buddhism, there should be no reservation. Sir, this suggestion of having reservation for these classes was upheld by the Prime Minister and by every leader of our country in the Constituent Assembly when this subject came up for consideration. The period of ten years will expire on the 26th January 1960. Again, where is the need for extending this for another ten years from 1960? I ask the Leader of the House. He may put me a question whether I also have not been returned as a Member to this House

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from a reserved constituency. But, on principle, I oppose this. Simply because this was passed in the Parliament, it does not mean that we should accept it. It is the principle that matters much. By such a reservation, are you not creating in the minds of these people that they should always remain and depend on the reserved seats? Does this create in their minds a sense of boldness, the feeling that they are also one among Indians and can get themselves elected from general seats? This is only to create a panic among these people that they should always look to a reserved seat.

Sri B. D. JATTI.—They can contest from a general seat also. They are not barred from that.

Sri C. M. ARUMUGHAM.—But the tendency of these people is that they should always be retained from a reserved constituency. The Indian National Congress is for the unity among the Hindus and Muslims, Hindus and Christians, Hindus and Buddhists. Such a party cannot put up a Scheduled Caste person to contest election from a general constituency. In fact, the Ruling Party has become more communal now. I am sure this is not going to help the Scheduled Castes people in their advancement. The cause of the Scheduled Caste people will not be served simply because some seats are reserved. Sir, simply because some persons of that class come as Members to the Parliament or to the Legislatures, do you mean to say that the cause of the Scheduled Castes people is promoted? If at all, only these few members may enjoy the power and privileges but not the common man in the street.

Sir, there are provisions in the Constitution dealing with proportional representation for these people in the matter of appointments to the services. The Hon'ble Minister, Sri Rachiah, always speaks for hours wherever he goes, about these constitutional provisions and says that they should be implemented as specified in these provisions of the Constitution. He refers to article 320 (4) which authorises

the State Government or the Central Government to make appointments to several departments directly, if they find that there is no adequate representation for the Scheduled Castes people in those departments of the Government. Our champion for backward classes, Sri Mariappa, the Hon'ble Minister for Finance, is there and the Champion of the Scheduled Castes Sri Rachiah is there. He cannot make a single appointment to the Gazetted cadre without consulting the Public Service Commission. Then again, Sir, the Constitution gives the Chief Minister several powers. He is so powerful. But, he is not able to bring in compulsory education for all the children of the Scheduled Castes within ten years' time. This is a directive principle in the Constitution. Further, our Health Minister is not able to provide medicine to all the needy people of the State. This is also a directive principle. So, Sir, there are several such things to be done but they have not been done so far. When I say all this, nobody need get upset, because it is nothing personal with reference to me or to them.

Sir, I want a very clear statement from the Chief Minister as to whether there is any need for the extension of this reservation. Sir, from 1950 till today ten years have passed. You have made so many appointments to the I.A.S. and I.P.S. cadres. There are 85 I.A.S. officers. If you had followed the principle of reservation in appointments, there ought to have been at least 20 officers in this cadre in the State. It is disheartening to know that our Chief Minister, who also is the Home Minister, has not taken one single Scheduled Caste person to the I.P.S. cadre. So, Sir, they have not adhered to the constitutional provisions so far as appointments are concerned. Further, to look after the welfare of the Scheduled Castes people and for their upliftment in social and economical spheres the President of India has got power to appoint a Special Officer. So long as the Constitution remains, this will also remain.

So, the other aspects to protect the Scheduled Castes are adumbrated in

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the Constitution of India. They are there. If you simply implement them, that is enough. If you make a provision like this, you can get hold of at least 25 people to serve your purpose; it is a political object and it is for this reason the Congress Government and the Congress Party extended the period and it is not to improve the Scheduled Caste people. It is not for helping the Scheduled Caste people to come on par with others. If you are sincere and honest why do you make this reservation and also make these people form a Depressed Classes League in the Congress Party itself? In a national organisation you form this league also. Now there are two classes of members, general and reserved. Formerly, they were asking what community one belonged to. Now, it is easy to know the community if he knows whether the member comes from reserved or general constituency; without one's telling, one can understand that a member belongs to Scheduled Caste if he has come from a reserved constituency. The Congress Party wants to be in power by majority; the will of the majority prevails. Therefore, to get hold of these people in their party, they are extending it. The intention is only to strengthen the organisation, if I may put it more clearly.

Sri N. RACHIAH (Minister for Agriculture, Excise and Social Welfare).—Don't you agree that Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are politically, educationally and socially backward and as such this is necessary?

Sri C. M. ARUMUGHAM.—I prefer one Rachiah to 50 Aramugams because Sri Rachiah is able to defend the cause of Scheduled Castes.

Sri N. RACHIAH.—In democracy, numbers also count.

Sri C. M. ARUMUGHAM.—We will be returned. Nowadays you take any candidate from general constituency.

You will find a majority of people of his community in his constituency. The Congress also sets up candidates according to castes. That principle is not followed by the P. S. P. but it is more on the Congress side.

If you want to have secular democracy, it is unfair to provide reservation for Scheduled Castes. They have included Sikhs though they have been converted to Sikh religion. "Sikh" has also been classified so far as reservation is concerned. So far as Christians are concerned, they are barred; so far as Buddhists are concerned, they are barred. If I convert myself and become Muslim, I am not entitled to reservation. But if I adopt Sikh religion, I shall be eligible to stand. How can there be minority in one single religion? We belong to Hindu religion. How can you classify us as a minority in Hindu religion? I am not saying that I do not belong to a minority. Further, members have not come here as doctors or philosophers; they represent the people of this communities; if you take Lingayats they are represented according to their population here; if you take Vokkaligas, they are represented according to Vokkaliga population here; so also Muslims. So, you cancel the reservation to Scheduled Castes; according to their population of 30 lakhs, there will be 30 members. The Congress Party is adopting that policy. Don't you agree, Sri Rachiah?

Sri N. RACHIAH.—Not at all.

Sri C. M. ARUMUGHAM.—The Hon'ble the Chief Minister will definitely agree with me that all the members are represented here according to the population of each community. So, according to that principle only, the Cabinet also is formed. You say there must be reservation in the Legislature for ten years. But where is reservation in the Cabinet? According to the Government of India Act, 1935, they have sent circular instructions that in each Cabinet there must be a Scheduled Caste man. In all the States of India, in every cabinet, there will be a Scheduled Caste Minister for the sake of a sample. Likewise, we have got here Sri Rachiah. But he is not a sample.

Sri N. RACHIAH.—I am an exception, is it not?

Sri C. M. ARUMUGHAM.—Certainly. Not only do I say so, but I believe also. This Government is doing some little good and Sri Rachiah is taking advantage of the present Government's attitude and helping the poor. I say you have failed miserably in the field of appointments, in the field of promotions and also in the field of economic aid to the Scheduled Castes. You say lands must be given and economic aid must be given to them. But now I am telling you that the Scheduled Caste people are every day thrown off from lands and from houses. One Scheduled Caste M. L. A. does not count much. Instead of one M. L. A., we want thousands of Scheduled Caste people to be benefited. Let thousands of them be appointed as peons. It is not that only Scheduled Caste member speaks for the Scheduled Castes. Sri Y. Veerappa speaks also sincerely in terms of uplifting the Scheduled Caste people. Then where is the need for reservation? The Constitution empowers the Government to protect the interests of Scheduled Castes people; the Constitution gives power to the President to appoint an officer to know every year the condition of the Scheduled Castes people. The Constitution says that you must give appointments to them, you must give them lands, you must give them houses and you must give them free and compulsory education; you must give them scholarship both for local and foreign studies; but you are not doing all this; you are simply whitewashing the whole thing. Where is the need for extending this alone?

Sri N. RACHIAH.—Reservation will not be for ever, but it is only for a limited period.

Sri C. M. ARUMUGHAM.—If you make it ten years now, it will go on for a hundred years. A day will come when they will want separate electorates. Do you think that these people in the legislature field or in the political field go back after ten years and surrender their comforts? Not at all. They will say that they want reservation for another ten years. Instead of that, you provide them with

appointments, promotions and economic aid. The Nijalingappa Government passed an order that reservation should be made for Scheduled Castes even in promotions. But after this beloved Government came to power, it withdrew it. If you appoint 20 I.A.S. officers and 5 I.P.S. officers, that is enough; according to population, make appointments from among the communities.

Sri N. RACHIAH.—With regard to withdrawal of reservation order pertaining to promotions from non-Gazetted to Gazetted, the Government have been seriously thinking of making up the deficiency by recruiting Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes people directly from 1st November '56. That is, while recruiting a special quota will be given to them and deficiency will be made up from 1st November 1956. In view of this, we have withdrawn that order.

Sri C. M. ARUMUGHAM.—We should know the position from 1950 because it is a constitutional provision. With regard to the constitution of Committees and Boards, they are not following the policy of reservations. They say that Boards have been constituted on merit. Then why don't you require merit in the Legislature also? The Government have constituted the Handicraft Board and so many other Boards. They are not making any reservation in those Boards. So far as the Cabinet is concerned, they will have to fight tooth and nail to get representation. When you say you are able to get candidates for the Legislature, you find it so hard to get representatives in the Cabinet. To-day I give a warning. Let us not be exploited by any political party or any individuals for their own good. What was the condition of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes ten years back and what is their condition to-day, you must be able to say. There are a hundred members belonging to Scheduled Castes in the Parliament. Taking any single community as majority in Parliament, who should be the Prime Minister? Naturally, he should be one from the Scheduled Castes alone because there are a hundred members

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belonging to Scheduled Castes in the Parliament. If you take the numerical strength, this community is in a majority in the Parliament, not Vokkaliga's, not Lingayats. But what is the representation in the Cabinet of the Government of India?

Sri N. RACHIAH.—One Minister and three Deputy Ministers.

Sri C. M. ARUMUGHAM.—Here there are 29 members. What is the good? At least Sri Jatti is a little considerate to the Scheduled Castes people. He appointed one Minister and one Deputy Minister from among the members of this community. When this question of reservation came up before the Parliament there was opposition to it. Now any member from the Congress Party belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is capable of holding the position of the President of the Congress Committee. Sri Chennigaramiah is the Vice-President of the Congress Committee. Is he not politically advanced? Where is the need for this reservation and extension of it by ten years more? Most probably the members of the Opposition and the ruling party are inclined to help the Scheduled Castes people. I can only say that they will be committing a blunder by supporting this resolution.

Sri G. SIVAPPA (Chitradurga).—At the time of framing the Constitution, why did Dr. Ambedkar support this reservation?

Sri C. M. ARUMUGHAM.—As a matter of fact, in 1932 at the R. T. C. topmost leaders belonging to the ruling party opposed it.

They said that there should be no reservation. But in 1935 the British Government thought that it was necessary that there must be representation for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes because these people were not allowed to get into the Legislature. We are now living in the days of democracy. If there are two or three members belonging to any community in the Assembly it is more than enough. When there is no reservation for other communities, and when there is representation according to the population,

where is the need for reservation for these Scheduled Caste people?

Sri N. RACHIAH.—Don't you agree that these people are suffering from the practice of untouchability and as such they require this help?

Sri C. M. ARUMUGHAM.—There is also an Act relating to removal of untouchability; but is it in practice? There was one instance of untouchability in K. G. F. The matter was referred to the Minister for Social Welfare and the Chief Minister. They were not able to help the party concerned legally. It is going on. It needs propaganda. Of course, it is true that the moment they cancel the reservation the Congress will lose power; they will definitely suffer for want of support to from the Government.

Sri KADIDAL MANJAPPA (Minister for Revenue).—You have come in spite of the reservation.

Sri C. M. ARUMUGHAM.—Now I am opposing this move. I would like to point out that the Government of Mysore with all their earnestness, with all their efforts, are not able to implement the Constitutional provision. In the economic field and in the educational field the Scheduled caste people are where they were existing. There are only a few houses built for them; nothing else they have got. Therefore, instead of making reservation for ten years more, it is better that they allow these people to stand on their own legs.

5 P.M.

Sir, formerly there were one or two members of the Scheduled Castes who were going abroad for higher education. Now there is none.

Sri N. RACHIAH.—We have sent half a dozen persons.

Sri C. M. ARUMUGHAM.—Half a dozen in ten years. I am happy to hear of this very big figure.

In the villages, there are no schools. Our Education Minister demands fifty percent contribution. It is not possible to establish middle schools. Therefore Government should provide scholarships

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for middle and high school going children. Such scholarships were granted in one or two odd cases, that too after the examinations were over.

Sometime back there was a resolution that they must be given houses. That has not been done. We have now said that the Scheduled Castes who are living in the villages could be people evicted and they should leave the houses.

SRI KADIDAL MANJAPPA.—No. My friend should not create a wrong impression. We have issued a circular that unauthorised cultivation should not be encouraged. It does not mean that Members of the Scheduled Castes are being evicted from lands lawfully occupied by them. Whether he belongs to the Scheduled Castes or to any other community, if a person occupies Government land, unauthorisedly he would be evicted. We are giving lands to all people, preference being given to the people of Scheduled Castes.

SRI C. M. ARUMUGHAM.—That is a good thing. In his last Address, the Governor was pleased to mention that the Scheduled Castes who were getting lands would not be disturbed from the lands.

SRI N. RACHIAH.—It is not with regard to land but with regard to residential houses.

SRI C. M. ARUMUGHAM.—I have got a number of cases in Tumkur, Bangalore, Kolar and Shimoga. I cannot of course give instances in particular villages at this stage but these things are happening. What I am driving at is that we are not out to safeguard the interests of the people of Scheduled Castes. If the Government had been sincere and honest they could have achieved much within these years. The Scheduled Castes people are a poor lot and require help. Does provision of mere reservation in Legislatures, help them substantially? What is the fun in providing for such reservations for ten more years? If only Government had implemented the

constitutional provisions up to the full-stop and the comma, then I would have agreed to the extension. The net result of the present attempt would be to create sectional feelings among the people. The Scheduled Castes are bound to remain Scheduled Castes for all times to come. India is not a country without caste or creed. We cannot say that the caste system has been abolished in India. May be we have abolished untouchability but the caste system continues. Now, in order to protect the best interests of the Scheduled Castes and in order to create harmonious relationships among the different sections of the people, let us not talk in the name of castes. Let us get rid of the caste system and not perpetuate it by giving representation to castes. If you still cling to the caste system you will be burying democracy.

The Scheduled Castes are being treated as if they are a minority. Who then are the majority communities? The Scheduled Castes constitute one-fifth of the population of this country and yet they are deemed to be a minority. Still we want to give them representation in the Legislature just to humour them and attract them. If we want to help them, let us go to the villages. If Sri Rachiah is a Minister, I am of course happy, but this will not be the case with the villagers who lack food, house, drinking water and so many things of life. I am not speaking about Scheduled Castes alone, but all people in some villages do not have drinking water. We bring protected water to urban areas from 20 or 30 miles, but in villages people drink water from lakes and tanks and expose themselves to all sorts of contamination. To give compulsory education, the Minister wants us to wait till the Third Plan. I do not know with what authority he gives such an assurance. I do not know if he would ever be a Minister or even a Member when the Third Plan comes for implementation. How can he make such a fantastic statement? I wish this Government to continue in power till the next general elections. Beyond that, no one can predict.

Sri M. RAMAPPA.—Unfortunately it is not in your hands.

Sri C. M. ARUMUGHAM.—It is in the hands of the voters. It is not in the hands of this Government. Can the party here after tell the voters “We will do this and that and therefore give us votes”. In foreign countries the candidates go to the voters and proclaim their foreign policy: that they stand for peace, that they would negotiate a treaty or a settlement with this or that country. But in India we go to a village and say: “I will dig a well for you or put up a road. Therefore give me your votes”. Afterwards we forget the promises we made. How long can this go on? Only till the time the voters are not enlightened.

Sri N. RACHIAH.—Foreign policy is not within the purview of the State Government.

Sri C. M. ARUMUGHAM.—That is the Constitutional position, I know. But when we go to the people and ask for votes as a party, it is our duty to explain to them all the things for which the party and the country stand for. It is our duty to ask the people to cast votes in an intelligent manner; not to tempt them with the promise of construction of a house or a garden. That is not democracy. In some cases, I know a leader points to a photo and says “Vote for this photo”. Are the people expected to vote for a dumb photo or a statute or a symbol? Is this the way we should gain their support? When the people get enlightened would they vote or such candidates who rely on pictures and symbols?

Now, to come back to the point, why is this reservation for? In no way would it help the people of Scheduled Castes. The whole thing is designed in such a manner that the political parties could exploit these poor people for their own nefarious ends. Most probably, they may take these people into their fold, return to the Legislatures on their ticket and strengthen their parties. There the matter would end. But from a practical point, is reservation for Scheduled Castes in Parliament and State Legislatures and even in the Municipalities and Village Panchayats

necessary, if the intention is merely to uplift their economic and social standards? Where is the need for that, I want to know. You must make the people fight the election on their own merits. Reservation for ten years is more than enough. Thinking that ten years' time is not enough, you are now extending it by another ten years, but I tell you their condition will remain the same even after another ten years. So long as you are not going to take serious notice of this problem, this problem will remain. They are looking at this problem as though it is a community problem and from that angle they are giving the people of this community one or two houses in a village, one or two seats in a college, one or two scholarships, one or two appointments in the services. But I must say emphatically that this will not solve the problem at all. If you strictly follow the spirit of the Constitution for a period of ten years in regard to appointment, promotions and the economic conditions of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, I do not think that any Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe person will come forward to say that he wants the reservation to continue any longer. The very fact that they have not brought about such a situation and they want to extend the reservation by another ten years is nothing but a confession on the part of the ruling party that they are not able to implement the constitutional safeguards for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. Here is a confession statement from the Chief Minister of the State that they want to extend the reservation for ten years more because they were not able to improve the lot of the people of Scheduled Castes. You say that they are politically backward even after ten years of independence. What exactly is the reasoning for that, I want to know from the Chief Minister. When you have failed to implement the constitutional safeguards for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, there is no need for this reservation to continue for ten years more.

With these words I resume my seat.

ಶ್ರೀ ವೈ. ಎರಪ್ಪ (ಹೊಳೆನರಸೀಪುರ).—ಮಾನ್ಯ ಅಧ್ಯಕ್ಷರೇ, ರಾಜ್ಯಾಂಗದ 334 ನೆಯ ವಿಧಿಯ ಅಡಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಮಾತನಾಡುತ್ತ ಕೆಲವು ಸಮಸ್ಯೆಗಳನ್ನು ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯಗಳನ್ನು ವ್ಯಕ್ತಪಡಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ಪಂಚವಾರ್ಷಿಕ ಯೋಜನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ 2,350 ಕೋಟಿ ರೂಪಾಯಿಗಳನ್ನು ಖರ್ಚು ಮಾಡಿದ್ದಾಯಿತು. ಎರಡನೆಯ ಪಂಚವಾರ್ಷಿಕ ಯೋಜನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ 4,800 ಕೋಟಿ ರೂಪಾಯಿಗಳನ್ನು ಖರ್ಚು ಮಾಡಿದ್ದಾಯಿತು. ಮೂರನೆಯ ಪಂಚವಾರ್ಷಿಕ ಯೋಜನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಹತ್ತುನೆಯ ಕೋಟಿ ರೂಪಾಯಿಗಳನ್ನು ಖರ್ಚು ಮಾಡಬೇಕೆಂದು ಅಂದಾಜು ಮಾಡಿಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದೇವೆ. ಈ ಯೋಜನೆಗಳಿಂದ, ಇಷ್ಟು ಹಣವನ್ನು ಖರ್ಚು ಮಾಡಿದ್ದರಿಂದ ಹಿಂದುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಹಿಂದುಳಿದಿರತಕ್ಕ ಷೆಡ್ಯೂಲ್ಡ್ ಜನಾಂಗದ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ಸ್ಥಿತಿಗತಿಗಳು ಹೇಗೆ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಯಾಗಿದೆ ಎಂದು ನೋಡಿದರೆ, ಅದು ಚಿಂತಾಜನಕವಾಗಿದೆ. ಮಾತನಾಡಲು ಬಂದು ಕೋಮನ್ನು ಆರೋಪಿಸಿ ಮಾಡುವ ಹವ್ಯಾಸಕ್ಕೆ ಹೋಗುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಸಮಾಜದ ಒಂದು ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ದೆಸೆ, ಮುಂದೆವಾದ ಫೋರಣ್ ಇವು ಹಿಂದುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಹಿಂದುಳಿದಿರತಕ್ಕ ಹರಿಜನರ ಸ್ಥಿತಿ ಚಿಂತಾಜನಕವಾಗಿರುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಕಾರಣವೆಂದು ಹೇಳುತ್ತೇನೆ. ಷೆಡ್ಯೂಲ್ಡ್ ಜನಾಂಗಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದ ಮಾನ್ಯ ಸದಸ್ಯರು ಅನೇಕ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮತ್ತು ತಾಲ್ಲೂಕುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಹರಿಜನರಿಗೆ ಸಮಾಜದಲ್ಲಿ ಅತ್ಯಾವಶ್ಯಕವಾಗಿ ದೊರಕಬೇಕಾದಂಥ ಸೌಲಭ್ಯಗಳನ್ನು ಕೊಡುತ್ತಿಲ್ಲವೆಂದು ಬಹಳ ಉಗ್ರವಾಗಿ ಹೇಳಿದರು. ಇದರ ಕಾರಣವೇನೆಂದರೆ ನಮ್ಮ ಹಿಂದಿನ ಪದ್ಧತಿ, ಹಿಂದಿನಿಂದ ಒಂದು ರೀತಿಯಾಗಿ ಬೆಳೆದು ಬಂದ ಸಮಾಜದ ಫೋರಣ್ ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ಕಾರಣ. ಈಗಲಾದರೂ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರದ ಸಮಗ್ರವಾದ ಹಿತದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಿಂದ ಹಿಂದುಗಳೆಂದು ಪರಿಗಣಿಸಲ್ಪಡುತ್ತಿರುವ ಹರಿಜನರ ಅಥವಾ ಷೆಡ್ಯೂಲ್ಡ್ ಜನಾಂಗಗಳ ಸ್ಥಿತಿಗತಿಗಳು ಒಂದೇ ಮಟ್ಟಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದು ಇದೀಯ ಹಿಂದೂಗಳು ಒಂದೇ ರೀತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬಾಳ್ವೆ ಮಾಡುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಅವಕಾಶವಿಲ್ಲದೆ ಇದ್ದರೆ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕ್ಕೆ ಅಥವಾ ದೇಶಕ್ಕೆ ಬಹಳ ತೊಂದರೆ ಹಾಗೆ ಆಗುತ್ತದೆ, ಅವರ ಏಳಿಗೆ ಕುಂದಕ ಬರುತ್ತದೆ. ಒಂದು ರೀತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ನೋಡಿದರೆ ಸಮಾಜದಲ್ಲಿ ಇನ್ನೂ ಸಂಘಟನೆಯಾಗಿಲ್ಲ. ಜನ ಒಂದುಗೂಡುತ್ತಿಲ್ಲ. ನಮ್ಮ ಸ್ವೇಚ್ಛೆಯ ಹೇಳಿದ ಹಾಗೆ, ರಾಜ್ಯಾಂಗ ಮತ್ತು ರೋಲ್ಸ್‌ನಲ್ಲಿದ್ದರೆ ನಮ್ಮ ಸ್ಥಿತಿ-ಸುಧಾರಿಸುತ್ತದೆಯೇ? ಜವಾಬ್ದಾರಿಯುತವಾಗಿ, ಜನಗಳಿಂದ ನಾವು ಅರಿಸಿ ಬಂದ ಮೇಲೆ ನಮ್ಮ ಕರ್ತವ್ಯವೇನು? ಕೇವಲ ಕೆಲವಾರು ದಿನವ ಬಂದು ಈ ಸಭೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕುಳಿತುಕೊಂಡು, ಕೆಲವು ಮನೋಧರ್ಮಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ಚರ್ಚೆ ಹಿಪ್ಪಣೆಗಳನ್ನೂ ಮಾಡಿ ಹೊರಟು ಹೋದರೆ ಸಾಕೆ; ಸಮಾಜದಲ್ಲಿರತಕ್ಕ ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಂದು ಕೋಮಿನವರ ಸಮಗ್ರವಾದ ಹಿತವನ್ನು ಸಾಧಿಸಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆಯೇ; ಎಂದು ಯೋಚನೆ ಮಾಡಿದರೆ ರಾಜ್ಯಾಂಗದ directive principles ನ್ನು ಎಷ್ಟು ಜಾಗೃತ ಸಾಧಿಸಿದ್ದೇವೆ, ಅದನ್ನು ಎಷ್ಟು ಸುಗಮವಾಗಿ ನಮ್ಮ ನಿತ್ಯ ಜೀವನದಲ್ಲಿ ಅನುಷ್ಠಾನಕ್ಕೆ ತಂದಿದ್ದೇವೆ ಎಂದು ನೋಡಿದರೆ ಏನಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಪರಿಗಣಿಸಿ ಚಿಂತಾಜನಕವಾಗಿದೆ ಹರಿಜನರ ಸಮಸ್ಯೆ ಬಹುಕಾಲದಿಂದ ಬಂದಂಥ ಸಮಸ್ಯೆ. ಇವರ ಅರ್ಥಿಕ ಮುಗ್ಧತ್ವವನ್ನೆವರಣೆಯಾಗಬೇಕಾದರೆ ರಾಜ್ಯದ ಹಾಗೂ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರದ ಬೊಕ್ಕಸದಿಂದ ವರ್ಷಕ್ಕೆ ಕೋಟಿಗಟ್ಟಲೆ ಹಣವರ್ಚು ಮಾಡಿದರೆ ಸಾಲದು ಅವರು ನಿಜವಾಗಿಯೂ ಮುಂದುವರಿಯಬೇಕಾದರೆ;

ಅವರು ಇತರ ಹಿಂದುಗಳಂತೆ ಏಳಿಗೆಗೆ ಬರಬೇಕಾದರೆ; ರಾಜಕೀಯವಾಗಿ ಮತ್ತು ಆರ್ಥಿಕವಾಗಿ ಮುಂದುವರಿಯಬೇಕಾದರೆ ಅವರಲ್ಲಿ ವಿದ್ಯಾವಂತರು ಜಾಸ್ತಿಯಾಗಬೇಕು. ವಿದ್ಯಾವಂತರು ಜಾಸ್ತಿಯಾಗದ ಹೊರತು ರಾಜಾಂಗವನ್ನು ಬದಲಾವಣೆ ಮಾಡಿದರೂ ಅಥವಾ ನಮ್ಮ ನಿಯಮಾವಳಿಗಳನ್ನು ಬದಲಾವಣೆ ಮಾಡಿದರೂ ಆಗುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಹರಿಜನರಿಗೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಪಟ್ಟವರೆಂದು ನಾನು ಹೇಳುತ್ತಿಲ್ಲ. ಯಾವುದೇ ಜನಾಂಗಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಎಲ್ಲೆಯವರೆಗೆ ಅವಿದ್ಯಾವಂತರು ಹೆಚ್ಚಾಗಿರುತ್ತಾರೆಯೋ, ಎಲ್ಲೆಯ ತನಕ ಅವರು ಅಡಳಿತದ ಆಗು ಹೋಗುಗಳನ್ನು ಜವಾಬ್ದಾರಿಯಿಂದ ವಹಿಸುವುದಿಲ್ಲವೋ, ಎಲ್ಲೆಯ ತನಕ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರದ ಹಿತಸಾಧನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರದ ಮುಂದಿರುವ ಯೋಜನೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ತಮ್ಮ ಗುರುತರವಾದ ಜವಾಬ್ದಾರಿಯನ್ನು ಎಂಬುದನ್ನು ಅರಿಯುವುದಿಲ್ಲವೋ ಅಲ್ಲಿಯ ತನಕ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರವು ಮುಂದುವರಿಯುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಈ ಪ್ರಸಕ್ತ ಪರಿಸ್ಥಿತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಪಾರ್ಲಿಮೆಂಟ್ ಮತ್ತು ವಿಧಾನ ಸಭೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಆರ್ಟಿಕಲ್ 334ರ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ದೀರ್ಘವಾಗಿ ಯೋಚನೆ ಮಾಡಿ ರಿಸರ್ವೇಷನ್ ಮುಂದುವರಿಯತಕ್ಕದ್ದು ಉತ್ತಮವೆಂದು ನನಗೆ ವೈಯಕ್ತಿಕವಾಗಿ ಕಾಣುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ರಾಜಕೀಯ ಬಣ್ಣವನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟರೆ ಅದು ನಿಜವಾಗಿಯೂ ಬಂಧನೀಯವೆಂದು ಹೇಳುತ್ತೇನೆ. ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರದ ಹಿತಸಾಧನೆಯಾಗಬೇಕೆಂಬ ಮತ್ತು ಸಮಾಜ ಸಮಗ್ರವಾಗಿ ಮುಂದುವರಿಯಬೇಕೆಂಬ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಿಂದ ತಂದಿದ್ದರೆ ನಿಜವಾಗಿಯೂ ಶಾಖಾನೀಯವಾದುದು ಎಂದು ಹೇಳಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ. ನಿತ್ಯ ಜೀವನದಲ್ಲಿ, ಶ್ರೀಮಾನ್ ಆರ್ಮುಂಗಂವರು ಹೇಳಿದ ಒಂದು ವಾದ ಒಂದು ರೀತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಸರಿಯಾಗಿದೆ ಎಂದು ನನಗೆ ಕಂಡಾಗ್ಯೂ ಪ್ರಸಕ್ತ ಪರಿಸ್ಥಿತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಷೆಡ್ಯೂಲ್ಡ್ ಜನಾಂಗದವರ ಹಿತಸಾಧನೆ ರಿಸರ್ವೇಷನ್ ಇಲ್ಲದಿದ್ದರೆ ಆಗುವುದಿಲ್ಲವೆಂದು ಹೇಳುತ್ತೇನೆ.

ಮೊಕ್ಕಸದಿಂದ ಕೋಟಾಂತ್ರರ ರೂಪಾಯಿಗಳನ್ನು ಕೊಡಬಹುದು. ಆದರೆ ಅವರ ಪ್ರತಿನಿಧಿಗಳು ಸರಿಯಾದ ರೀತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ನಮ್ಮ ಜನಾಂಗದ ಏಳಿಗೆಗೆ ದುಡಿಯದೆ ಇದ್ದರೆ ಸಾಲದು. ಏತಕ್ಕೋಸ್ಕರವಾಗಿ ಈ ಹತ್ತು ವರ್ಷಗಳ ಅವಧಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಅವರು ಮುಂದೆ ಬರಲಿವೆಂದು ಕೇಳಬಹುದು. ಹರಿಜನರ ಪ್ರತಿನಿಧಿಗಳು ಈಗ ಯಾವ ಮಟ್ಟದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೆಲಸ ಮಾಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾರೆಯೋ ಆ ಮಟ್ಟದಲ್ಲಿ ಹಿಂದಿನವರು ಕೆಲಸ ಮಾಡಲಿಲ್ಲವೆಂದು ನನಗೆ ಭಾಸವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಹರಿಜನರ ಪ್ರತಿನಿಧಿಗಳಾಗಿರುವ ಹರಿಜನರೇ ಇಲ್ಲವು ವರೆಗೂ ತಮ್ಮ ಜನಗಳ ಹಿತಸಾಧನೆಯನ್ನು ಮಾಡಲಿಲ್ಲವೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬೇಕಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಈಗ ಅದೇ ಫೋರಣ್ ಮುಂದುವರಿಯುತ್ತಿಲ್ಲ. ವರ್ಷ ವರ್ಷ ವ್ಯತ್ಯಾಸ ಕಂಡುಬರುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಹರಿಜನರ ಮುಂದರೂ, ಪ್ರತಿನಿಧಿಗಳೂ ಬಹಳ ಜಾಗೃತ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರದ ಮತ್ತು ಸಮಾಜದ ಹಿತಸಾಧನೆಯ ಕಡೆಗೆ ಗಮನ ಕೊಡಬೇಕು. ಕೇವಲ ನಮ್ಮ ಜನಾಂಗ ಮುಂದುವರಿದರೆ ಸಾಲದು, ನಮ್ಮ ಜನಾಂಗ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೆಚ್ಚಾಗಿರಬಹುದು. ಹಿಂದುಗಳೆಲ್ಲರೂ ಕೂಡ ಸಮಗ್ರವಾಗಿ ಬಾಳಬೇಕು, ಎನ್ನುವ ವಾದವನ್ನೂ ನಮ್ಮ ಕೆಲವು ಮಿತ್ರರೊಡನೆ ನಡೆಸಿದ ಸಂಭಾಷಣೆಯಿಂದ ಕಂಡುಬಂದಿತು. ಆ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಿಂದ ನಾನು ಒಂದು ಮಾತನ್ನು ಹೇಳುತ್ತೇನೆ. ಈಗ ಹತ್ತು ವರ್ಷಗಳ ಕಾಲ ಬಡಾವಣೆ ಮಾಡುವುದರಿಂದ ಹರಿಜನರು ತಮ್ಮ ಜನಾಂಗದ ಏಳಿಗೆಗೆ ದುಡಿಯುವುದಲ್ಲದೆ ಇಡೀ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರದ ಸಮಗ್ರವಾದ ಸಮಸ್ಯೆ

ಗಳ ಬಗ್ಗೆಯೂ ಗುರುತರವಾದ ಜವಾಬ್ದಾರಿಯನ್ನಿಟ್ಟುಕೊಂಡು ಕೆಲಸ ಮಾಡುತ್ತಾರೆಂದು ನಾನು ಹೇಳುತ್ತೇನೆ. ಇದು ವ್ಯಾಖ್ಯಾನ ಮಾಡತಕ್ಕ ವಿಚಾರವಲ್ಲ; ಗಂಟೆ ಗಟ್ಟಲೆ ಮಾತನಾಡತಕ್ಕ ವಿಚಾರವಲ್ಲ. ಪ್ರಸಕ್ತ ಪರಿಸ್ಥಿತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ನಮ್ಮ ಅನುಭವವೇನಿದೆ, ಜನಗಳ ಧೋರಣೆ ಏನಿದೆ ಎಂಬುದನ್ನು ನೋಡಿದರೆ ರಿಸರ್ವೇಷನ್ ಮಾಡದೆ ಇದ್ದರೆ ಗ್ರಾಮ ಪಂಚಾಯತಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕೂಡ ಹರಿಜನರು ಸ್ಪರ್ಧಿಸಿದರೆ ಅವರಿಗೆ ಒಬ್ಬ ಬರುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಏಕೆಂದರೆ ಅವರ ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ಸ್ಥಿತಿ ಬಹಳ ದುಸ್ಥಿತಿಯಲ್ಲಿದೆ; ಮತ್ತು ಬೇರೆ ಜನಾಂಗದವರ, ಮತದವರ ಭಾವನೆ ಅಷ್ಟು ಸರಿಯಿಲ್ಲವೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ. ಈ ಸಭೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಭಾಷಣ ಮಾಡಬಹುದು, ಆದರೆ ನಿತ್ಯ ಜೀವನದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಗೆ ವರ್ತಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದೇವೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ನೋಡಿದರೆ ನಿಜವಾಗಿಯೂ ಚಿಂತಾಜನಕವಾಗಿದೆ. ಆ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಹೆಚ್ಚಿಗೆ ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾಪ ಮಾಡುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಹೋಗುವುದಿಲ್ಲ.

[Mr. SPEAKER in the Chair]

ಒಂದು ಗುರುತರವಾದ ಜವಾಬ್ದಾರಿಯಿಂದ ಅವರಿಗೆ ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ಸಹಾಯ ಅಥವಾ ನೆರವನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟರೆ ಅವರು ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಹೆಚ್ಚು ವಿದ್ಯಾವಂತರಾಗಿ ಮುಂದೆ ಬರುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಒಂದು ಅವಕಾಶವನ್ನು, ಸಂದರ್ಭವನ್ನು ಕಲ್ಪಿಸಿಕೊಟ್ಟರೆ ಈಗಿರತಕ್ಕ ಜಟಿಲವಾದ ಸಮಸ್ಯೆಗಳು ತಮ್ಮಷ್ಟಕ್ಕೆ ತಾವೇ ನಿವಾರಣೆಯಾಗುತ್ತವೆಂದು ಹೇಳುತ್ತೇನೆ.

ಈ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಿಂದ ರಿಸರ್ವೇಷನ್ ಅವಧಿಯನ್ನು ಹತ್ತು ವರ್ಷಗಳು ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಮಾಡಿರುವುದು ಸೂಕ್ತ. ಇದು ಕೇವಲ ಹರಿಜನರಿಗೆ ಒಳ್ಳೆಯದೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಹಿಂದು ಜನಾಂಗಕ್ಕೆ, ಇಡೀ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕ್ಕೆ ಒಳ್ಳೆಯದು. ಎಲ್ಲರೂ ಸಮೋದರರಂತೆ ಬಾಳಬೇಕು, ಅಣ್ಣ-ತಮ್ಮಂದಿರಂತೆ ಬಾಳಬೇಕು, ಒಂದೇ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರದ ಜನತೆಯಂತೆ ಬಾಳಬೇಕು, ಈಗಿರುವಂತೆ ಏರು ಪೇರುಗಳಿರಬಾರದು, ಈ ಏರು ಪೇರುಗಳು ಹೋಗುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಇನ್ನು ಹತ್ತು ವರ್ಷಗಳ ಅವಧಿ ಬೇಕು ಎಂದು ಹೇಳುತ್ತೇನೆ. ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ನನ್ನ ಬೆಂಬಲವಿದೆ ಎಂದು ಹೇಳಿ ನನ್ನ ಎರಡು ಮಾತುಗಳನ್ನು ಮುಗಿಸುತ್ತೇನೆ.

5-30 P.M.

†Sri S. D. KOTHAVALA (Chikodi).—Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the resolution brought forward by the Hon'ble the Chief Minister for extending the reservation by another ten years to the Scheduled Castes in the Legislature. The Constitution makes provision in respect of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. The reasons for this are very very clear. The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are admittedly the weaker sections of the public. I think, nobody who has spoken on this subject, has so far contradicted it. It is for such weaker sections of the public, who are socially backward and who are suffering from

certain social disabilities, that representation has been conceded in the Legislature and it was incorporated in the Constitution which has been drafted by Dr. Ambedkar who is acknowledged to be their greatest leader.

Sri C. M. ARUMUGHAM.—The very Leader Dr. Ambedkar opposed the extension of reservation.

Sri S. D. KOTHAVALA.—There are some other reasons for that.

Sri C. M. ARUMUGHAM.—After practical experience, he thought it was not fit to continue.

Sri C. K. RAJAIAH SETTY.—Even after he became Buddhist, he was pleading the cause of Harijans.

Sri S. D. KOTHAVALA.—I request my Hon'ble friends to give me a patient hearing, considering the time available for me to speak. Let us picture to ourselves the situation which was prevailing then. Untouchability was there in spite of the efforts made by Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders. Mahatma Gandhi toured throughout the length and breadth of India and did everything in his power to bring about amelioration in the conditions of the Harijans and members of the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes, but because of the existence of this evil for centuries it could not be done in a day or year. Considerable time was needed. When this Constitution was framed, it was very clear that this untouchability existed to a great extent. Besides this social disability, the economic conditions and other matters connected with these unfortunate people are not happy. If the Legislative Assemblies and Parliament were really to be representative, it was thought necessary that representatives of these classes and other classes and also women should be there though it has been made a policy by the Congress Party and some other parties also to see that representatives of all classes and sexes should be there. Since Harijans suffered from this special disability, socially and economically, some provisions were thought necessary and it was for this reason there reservations were made for them in Legislatures. The only point now which remains to be considered is whether those conditions

(SRI S. D. KOTHAVALA)

have completely disappeared. Though there is considerable improvement in their condition, still I think much headway has got to be made and complete progress has not unfortunately been yet achieved. Therefore, the point is, even now, supposing a Member of the Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes independently of these reservations contests for the Central Legislature or a State Legislature, would it be possible for him to be returned. That is the point to be decided.

SRI C. M. ARUMUGHAM.—Whether they are willing to send a Scheduled Caste man on merit to Parliament, or not, we want to make a test. We want to test the public and the political parties whether they are willing to return a Scheduled Caste candidate from the general constituencies.

SRI S. D. KOTHAVALA.—The point is whether he stands the chance of being returned now as the society stands.

SRI G. DUGGAPPA (Chitradurga).—The Hon'ble Member said that it might be very difficult for them to contest seats in the Assembly. But without the co-operation of the Scheduled Castes, it is also very difficult. The election results in Belgaum District are a testimony to that.

SRI S. D. KOTHAVALA.—Generally speaking, Scheduled Castes form 15 per cent of the society.

SRI C. M. ARUMUGHAM.—What Census figures you are taking? Is it 1951 Census or 1941? Percentage of population is the basic factor for everything.

SRI S. D. KOTHAVALA.—I am not speaking of a particular district or a particular taluk. Generally speaking the percentage of this class is in the neighbourhood of 15 per cent. Any reference to voters' list will bear out what I say. Suppose they are 20 per cent. Even then, 20 per cent of voter cannot return their candidates in a single member constituency or double, member constituency.

Apart from the political party, the position is, that on their own account, it would be difficult for members of the Scheduled castes to be returned on the

strength of 15 to 20 per cent of voters. We have got to make provision and safeguard and see that an adequate number of Harijans are returned to the State Legislature. The Hon'ble Member Sri Arumugham said that he wanted to test the honesty or purpose of the so called 'touchable' classes. The position is, while drafting the Constitution or making some law, we cannot take into account what the political parties are going to do or what the political parties are not going to do in the matter. We have got to consider what is necessary in the interests of the weaker sections of the population, independent of political philosophy, independent of political party in the country. We cannot give a mandate to the political party. The Congress Party administration desires to help the Scheduled Castes. There are many members belonging to the Scheduled Castes who are returned on the Congress ticket to this august Assembly. Nobody need tell us about it. My friend raised a point about election results in 1957. I do not want to say that no Scheduled Caste person voted for me; many of them voted for me. The position of Belgaum District may be considered here. It is a border district and particularly my taluk is a border taluk. There are activities of the Maharashtra Ekikarna Samiti and akin bodies. They contested the elections and a reference is made to the Harijan candidate who succeeded in the poll. He was helped by other forces, by the finances of other parties and the result was that. Of course, this is not an occasion for probing into the reason as to why a particular thing happened. It is a small indication of the circumstances that existed in my taluk at the time of the elections. I am not casting any reflection on my friend Sri Sunthakar who is eagerly looking at me. I gave a small indication of the affairs there. The position therefore is, when the Constitution is being framed or constitutional reservations are to be extended, the only thing to be considered is what is the condition of the members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Though as I said in the beginning, some

improvement has been made, but sufficient improvement is not there to warrant the cessation of reservation. I fail to understand one more thing. Article 16 of the Constitution deals with many other reservations. They provide for reservation in service, they provide for reservation in educational institutions. The whole thing is intermixed. In regard to Chapter XVI relating to reservations and safeguards for Harijans, whether it is with respect to Legislature or service or educational institution the reservations are based upon one simple policy or principle; that is the backwardness of the community. The provisions contained in Chapter XVI of the Constitution rest upon certain broad principles, whether the reservation is in connection with the Legislature or services or educational institutions or other public matters. The Harijans are a weaker section; they are subject to disabilities; they are educationally backward and economically backward and are helpless. It is on this principle that the idea of reservation is based. Is it the view of Sri Arumugam and others that they do not stand in need of reservation? I don't understand the philosophy or the idea behind this opposition. I think the points made out by the persons in opposition to this measure are not well founded. Supposing untouchability is not removed, supposing what they say is right, then what is the position? Probably it means that persons other than the scheduled castes are not willing to help. Therefore, the reservation in the Constitution must be extended for some time. But I should not be mistaken to say that there is no improvement. Considerable improvement is effected and untouchability to a large extent has become a matter of the past though not to the extent that we desire. It was contended that when the Constitutional safeguards were not implemented sufficiently, what was the good of extending the period of the present reservation. I think it is wrong to say that the safeguards are not implemented. This is not the occasion for citing in extenso what measures have been taken for the purpose of implementing the constitutional

provisions for safeguarding the interests of Harijans. In the economic field, in the field of education and in all other matters steps have been taken, and special provisions are made in the annual budgets of State Governments and also the Union Government. I think Hon'ble Members are quite aware and it is not for me to cite in detail the various provisions and various allotments made for the benefit of Harijans. Earnest efforts are made to ameliorate their position. Of course, as I said, much ought to be done still and we are in right earnest about it. This is one of the measures which shows our sincerity and earnestness to help these unfortunate classes and it is necessary to have some ample provision in the Constitution to secure their representation in the Legislature. The very fact that Hon'ble Members like Sri Arumugham and others are reminding us of our responsibility to find out whether we are acting in furtherance of the Constitutional safeguards shows the utter need for the constitutional provision in our efforts for the amelioration of the condition of the Harijans. My submission is that the conditions that justified the provision of reservation at the time the Constitution was framed, still exist and hence there is every justification for extending the period. Some motive has been imputed to the Congress party. I do not know how the Congress party alone would benefit by bringing in more Scheduled Caste people to the Legislature. The other parties would also benefit by this. I would also point out that if a Scheduled Caste candidate is confident of winning a seat in the general constituencies, he is not prevented from doing so. He would be welcome.

Sri C. M. ARUMUGHAM.—How many Scheduled Caste candidates have been returned from general constituencies?

Sri S. D. KOTHAVALA.—Not in proper proportion. That is the reason we want reservations.

Sri B. K. PUTTARAMIYA.—Would there be reservations in the Ministry also?

Sri S. D. KOTHAVALA.—That cannot be. In spite of it, the Congress party had the goodness to take in Harijan Ministers in the Cabinet. Whether there is constitutional provision or not, the legitimate claims of the people would be recognised by our party.

With these words, I support the Resolution.

Sri B. SHAMSUNDER (Bhalki).—Sir.....

Sri C. J. MUCKANNAPPA.—Till what time do we sit today, Sir?

Mr. SPEAKER.—We have a half-hour discussion today.

Sri B. K. PUTTARAMIYA.—Will this discussion be continued tomorrow?

Mr. SPEAKER.—We have allotted 3½ hours for this discussion. We will be completing one hour and forty-five minutes by 6½ clock. The Hon'ble Member will speak for five minutes and the debate will be continued tomorrow.

†Sri B. SHAMSUNDER.—Sir, we were under the impression that this topic would be taken up on the 21st. Wonderful are the ways of the Government and the means by which they accomplish things. Overnight they changed their mind.....

Mr. SPEAKER.—It is not the Government which is at fault. If any fault attaches, it is to me.

Sri B. SHAMSUNDER.—I am sorry, Sir. I mistook the Government for you (*Laughter*).

Whenever I speak, I speak on the subject before us. I have not come to waste the time of the House. My friends on this and that side know how to raise points of order. I know the minds of the people of the Scheduled Castes and I have come here to represent them to the extent I can and I would not indulge in wasteful talk.

Before I deal with this problem of continuing the reservation to the Scheduled Castes, I would like to trace the previous history in order to show how this question of reservation came to be included in the Constitution. In 1932 Mahatma Gandhi said that he spoke on behalf of the entire people of India. He spoke on behalf of the Congress. Dr. Ambedkar then said: should not the untouchable represent the

untouchables? At that time, it was thought—and Dr. Ambedkar said—that he was representing the so-called untouchables, the unseeables and the unapproachables, people who were considered to belong to the lowest strata of society. At that time everyone accepted Dr. Ambedkar as representing the untouchables and that the Untouchables belonged to a separate class. Mahatma Gandhi, one of the greatest leaders of the Hindus, foresaw that this would be the tomb of the Hindu community and therefore he resisted the separation of the Scheduled Castes from the fold of the Hindu community. Gandhi said that even if it cost him his life, he would not allow the Scheduled Castes to be separated from the Hindus. The leaders of the Hindus, the leaders of the Congress had previously thought that they were different from the Scheduled Castes. Mahatma Gandhi reversed their view. As a result of his efforts, the famous Poona Pact came into being. The leaders said that they would assimilate the Scheduled Castes into the Hindu community. They said: "We will give them all facilities." Have they followed this afterwards. At the time when the Constitution was being drafted, I remember Sardar Patel said: "Why should the Scheduled Castes be given equal status with the Hindus? They are the lowest of the lowest; they are the dust of dust." I remember his words very well.

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"Why not give them what they want?" At that time Dr. Ambedkar told me: "I believe that the Hindu leaders are the sincerest people in the world; they are more experienced people. They have dedicated their lives for the country; they have sacrificed everything for the country. They will never betray us." But, Sir, the lowest people I mean the people in the lower rung of our society, the so-called politicians, manipulated and conspired and the poor Harijan people were let down. The Members of the Constituent Assembly were turned against Dr. Ambedkar and what Dr. Ambedkar wanted was not achieved. On that

very day Patel was absent thinking that it would be passed, but unfortunately it was not done. Then what happened? Then came this reservation. For what! The idea was that Scheduled Caste men should get returned cent. per cent. The idea was that men who could represent the Scheduled Castes should get returned. It was with that idea that this principle was propounded. But what happened? People with no knowledge and experience of things, with no character, were set up against the greatest leaders of the Scheduled Castes in the country. Dr. Ambedkar was defeated twice. The author of the Indian Constitution and a great leader was defeated by Sri Bolkar. At this rate, can we ever believe in our Hindu friends who are the people in power and who have enjoyed all the good things in the country and who say that they are the Devatas of this world? These people will never allow the Scheduled Caste people whom they call untouchables to come up. They call the Scheduled Caste people as Sudras. While framing and adopting the Indian Constitution Dr. Ambedkar removed this word Sudra which Manu had perpetrated in his books, but even now those books containing this word "Sudra" are safe in the libraries. They say that it is on account of the sins of your past *karmas* that you are born an untouchable and that you have to remain as such. Every Hindu believes in this. If I ask any Hindu gentleman why he is calling a person untouchable he says: "it is on account of the sins of his past *karmas* that he is born an untouchable". But the Hindus call themselves as Devatas. If this is the mentality and attitude of our countrymen, I do not know how we are going to end these things. There is no hope of salvation unless you do away with the religious sentiments and beliefs of the majority of the people of this country. My friend on the other side Mr. White Cap—I do not know his name—

Mr. SPEAKER.—He was Sri Kothavale.

Sri B. SHAMSUNDER.—I am sorry. He said that Scheduled castes were less in number, that they were in a minority

and how could they, then get elected. Certainly, it is for that very same purpose that we wanted all these things. We never believed in the majority. We thought that the majority would never allow us to come into power. It is for that purpose only that we wanted all these things. We do not want anything gratis from them. Now it is no use relying on them for what we want. We have tried that.

Mr. SPEAKER.—I think it is time now. You can continue your speech tomorrow morning.

Half-an-hour Discussion on Q. No 129 *re.* Overtime Allowance to Government Servants.

†Sri M. C. NARASIMHAN (Kolar Gold Fields).—Sir, the motion that I want to raise is a very simple issue which had come up repeatedly before the Mysore Legislative Council and also the Mysore Legislative Assembly and it is only in pursuance of what has happened previously that I am trying to raise this discussion. There is also another important issue involved in this and that is the reason why I particularly thought it necessary to raise this half-an-hour discussion. I wish the Finance Minister had been here because he answered the question the other day, but anyway since the Chief Minister is here I believe he will be able to give us some clarification and assurance in regard to this matter. I want to make it clear that this should not be looked at from a very narrow angle, but the the Chief Minister and the Government must look at it from a larger angle and see that proper justice is done to this particular issue. The issue that I want to raise pertains to the question of granting overtime allowance so far as our Legislature staff is concerned. I believe there are no more than 100 persons involved in this and if the Government were to concede this overtime allowance to these people who are called upon to work day and night and who work day and night, it will not be a very big burden on the State Exchequer.